Social Movement Tactics, Organizational Change and the Spread of African-American Studies

Fabio Rojas, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Abstract

Social movement research suggests that protest is effective because it de-legitimizes existing policies and imposes costs on power holders. I test this hypothesis with data on African-American student protest and the creation of departments of African-American Studies. I find that non-disruptive protest, such as rallies and demonstrations, has a positive effect on the probability that a university will create a Department of African-American Studies. Disruptive protest, such as sit-ins and vandalism, has no significant effect. I argue that non-disruptive protests are successful because they allow sympathetic administrators to act on behalf of political challengers, while disruptive protests deprive administrators of the legitimacy needed to enact change. I also find limited evidence of intra-university mimicry as a factor in the creation of African-American Studies programs.

Beginning in 1968, African-American students and their allies staged marches, demonstrations and sit-ins so that university administrators would create academic units dedicated to African-American culture and history (Bunzel 1968; Bailey 2001; Orrick 1970; Crouchett 1971; Glasker 2002; Myles 1971). For the next 30 years, 120 universities offered African-American Studies degrees and 100 more offered degree concentrations (College Board 2002). As of 2005, approximately 9 percent of all institutions of higher education in the United States have academic units offering African-American Studies degrees. Although black student activists demanded African-American Studies programs at many campuses, not all of these campuses established programs, even those with substantial black student populations and campus unrest. This outcome suggests that activists were not equally effective in pressing their demands.

This study explores the effects of movement tactics on organizational change. The African-American Studies movement raises important questions about social movements and their impact on organizations because a university's response to the African-American Studies movement should depend on how student activists assert their demands. Although social movement researchers often discuss the link between tactics and outcomes (e.g., Andrews 2001; Gamson 1990 [1975]; McAdam and Su 2002) and how movements target organizations (e.g., Binder 2000, 2002; Davis, McAdam, Scott and Zald 2004; Lounsbury 2001; Lounsbury, Ventresca and Hirsch 2003), scholarship infrequently addresses the differing tactical effects on organizations. This study contributes to the literature by examining the difference between disruptive tactics, such as vandalism and violence, and non-disruptive tactics, such as rallies, on the probability that administrators will make concessions to protestors.

I thank Ross M. Stolzenberg, Charles E. Bidwell, Terry Nichols Clark, Michael Dawson, Rob Robinson, Joe Galaskiewicz, Elena Obhukova, Marc Schneiberg, Michael T. Heaney, John Brehm, Ben Bowser and Cathy Cohen for their comments and encouragement. I thank Melissa Reyes and Nick Rowland for assistance in data collection. I also thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor for their valuable comments. *Direct correspondence to Fabio Rojas, 761 Ballantine Hall, 1020 East Kirkwood Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. E-mail: frojas@indiana.edu.*

The subsequent sections review the literature and present hypotheses. Using longitudinal data on black student protests and universities, I estimate a discrete time logit model of African-American Studies program creation where African-American Studies program creation depends on protest events, national trends in African-American Studies program adoption and control variables, such as university size and student demography. The concluding section offers an explanation for the difference between disruptive and non-disruptive tactics, which is based on case studies of the black student movement.

Protest and Organizational Change

Social movements targeting organizations employ a variety of tactics. Some movements use disruptive tactics that prevent the target organization from completing its tasks. Sit-ins, a movement tactic used by labor groups in the early 20th century, forced industrial plants to cease operations until their demands were met. Other social movements choose less direct methods. For example, the early 20th century women's suffrage movement tried to influence state legislatures through the use of marches, rallies and publicity. Rallies were an attempt to change public opinion so that state legislatures and other political bureaucracies would approve and enforce women's right to vote. Suffragists did not try to disrupt legislators' daily routines through sit-ins or riots.

The variety of social movement tactics raises an important question. Which tactics encourage organizational change? Is it better for a movement to directly interfere with an organization? Or, is it better for a movement to appeal to public opinion and hope that managers will institute new policies and enact change? This study addresses this question with an empirical analysis of the African-American Studies movement, which used both kinds of tactics to persuade university administrators that they should establish departments of African-American Studies.

Although social movement researchers have not directly addressed whether disruptive movement tactics spur organizational change, a voluminous literature on movements suggests the mechanisms linking movement actions to other types of social change. Gamson argued ([1975] 1990) that violent social movements are more likely to achieve their goals than nonviolent movements. Analyzing data on American social movements in the 19th and 20th centuries, Gamson argued that movements employing strikes, violence and other disruptive techniques are more able to draw attention to their goals, impose costs on political incumbents, and ultimately achieve their goals than movements using non-disruptive techniques. Since Gamson's work, other scholars have reanalyzed his data (Goldstone 1980) and tested his hypothesis with other data (Frey, Dietz and Kalof 1992; Mirowsky and Ross 1981; Ragin 1987; Stedley and Foley 1979). Much evidence does show that disruptive tactics do correlate with a movement's goal attainment (e.g., Cress and Snow 2000). It should also be noted that some scholars argue that violent or disruptive protest damages a social movement's reputation and has negative effects on goal attainment (Schumaker 1975, 1978). Giugni (1999) believes that the evidence is mixed on this issue. Much of the debate hinges on definitions and measures of protest and its outcomes. The appendix to Gamson (1990 [1975]) reprints the exchanges among Gamson, Goldstone and others.

Political scientists argue that riots and contentious gatherings tactics allow movement participants to extract concessions from organizational participants in exchange for ending protest, which has been called the social control hypothesis. (Durman 1973; Isaac and Kelly 1981; Piven and Cloward 1977, 1992; Welch 1975) According to these researchers, state actors – legislators, law enforcement officials, etc. – have a strong interest in preventing public challenges to their authority. If movement leaders succeed in mobilizing a large number

of persons and publicly challenging the state, then state actors might perceive their authority to be eroding. Social control theories imply that state actors mollify disruptive groups through policy change or the establishment of institutions catering to movement actors. Scholars have tested this hypothesis in various contexts by estimating the effect of the number of protest events on state budgets. For example, Fording (2001) found that black protest within a state results in expansions of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Andrews (2001) arrived at a similar conclusion regarding the Civil Rights movements and the Great Society programs of the mid-1960s.

This research on violence and other disruptive tactics suggests that they impose serious costs on an organization. Firm owners lose income when striking laborers stage sit-ins and work stoppages. Violent tactics destroy property and reduce a firm's wealth. Also, an organization's leaders face erosion of their authority if disruptions go unchecked. The corresponding hypothesis is:

> *Hypothesis 1: Disruptive tactics, e.g., sit-ins, riots, vandalism, riots and other tactics aimed at preventing an organization from achieving its goals, will have a positive effect on the probability that an organization will change in response to the movement.*

Social movements also employ non-disruptive tactics focusing on an organization's legitimacy and public image. The movement indirectly changes an organization by showing how behavior contradicts stated ideologies, policies and social mores. Examples abound: anti-apartheid movements in the 1980s pressured universities and other organizations to sever ties with firms that invested in South Africa; the anti-sweatshop movement encourages garment manufacturers to assume responsibility for working conditions by generating negative publicity for manufacturers; and the women's suffrage movement employed mass rallies and marches to persuade the public that denying women's right to vote was inconsistent with democratic principles. Movement tactics such as rallies also seek to directly change public opinion. For example, environmental movements have tried to persuade the public that logging practices are illegitimate because they are damaging to the environment. Activists hope that public opinion change might lead to regulation of industry or changes in firm behavior.

Della Porta and Diani (1999:173) identify two additional motivations behind non-disruptive tactics. First, non-disruptive tactics are often motivated by a belief that power holders will change their behavior if the movement demonstrates that many people agree with the movement's demands. Large rallies and demonstrations are supposed to show mass support for the movement. This sort of behavior is an appeal to democratic values. Non-disruptive events are also characterized by symbolically charged appeals to abstract moral principles. Hunger strikes are the most sensational example. Campus teach-ins are a less extreme example where students and teachers show moral rectitude by conducting classes on their movement's cause. This leads to:

> *Hypothesis 2: Non-disruptive tactics, e.g., mass demonstrations, rallies, hunger strikes and other tactics aimed at challenging an organization's legitimacy, will have a positive effect on the probability that an organization will change in response to the movement.*

Neo-institutional theory suggests that protest might have important indirect consequences. A central argument is that organizations seek legitimacy by copying other organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Scott 2000). When

managers do not know what to do, they will look to their peers. A movement challenges existing practices and creates uncertainty for an organization. Neo-institutional theory indicates that successful mobilizations create uncertainty for organizations. Organizations that concede to a movement are then copied by others because early adopters confer legitimacy to the movement's demands. Such mimicry is a vital part of the story of how movements change industries. Organizations might copy similar organizations (Haveman 1993), others in the same geographical region (Hedstrom 1994; Knoke 1982; Myers 1997), or they might simply follow national trends (Strang and Soule1998):

> *Hypothesis 3: The number of organizations changing in response to a movement, nationally or within a region or peer group in a given time period, has a positive effect on the probability that other organizations will adopt that form in subsequent time periods.*

A related issue is how protest interacts with mimetic processes or structural variables that are known to correlate with organizational change. Protest might magnify mimetic effects by adding urgency to the desire to find legitimacy by copying other organizations. A manager confronted with demonstrators might be more inclined to change behavior if his or her peers have conceded to the movement. Similarly, resources and structural variables, such as size, might have a larger effect when there is protest. For example, an interdisciplinary academic program, such as a Department of African-American Studies, might be easily established in a university with many academic programs. Professors already working for the university might be more inclined to promote a new academic unit if they know there is strong demand for it as indicated by protests for the program. The following hypothesis summarizes this argument:

> *Hypothesis 4: The interaction of the number of protest events and mimetic variables or structural variables, such as size, will have a positive effect on the probability that an organization will adopt an organizational form promoted by a movement.*

Context: The Movement for African-American Studies

This study uses data on the movement for African-American Studies because students employed many different tactics to get departments of African-American Studies established at their universities. Tactics included sit-ins, rallies and occasional violence and vandalism (Myles 1971; Orrick 1970). Black student activists took their cue from the broader Civil Rights and Black Power movements, which used "direct action" to achieve their goals. Historians often view "direct action" as a departure from an earlier style of black politics emphasizing court action and government lobbying (Meier, Rudwick and Broderick 1971).

Scholars trace the beginnings of "direct action" to the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE). According to its statement of purpose (CORE 1971 [1942]: 239), the organization was a coalition of local groups whose purpose was to eliminate the color line through "direct, non-violent action." CORE conducted the first lunch counter sit-in when CORE member James Farmer led 25 people to a Chicago coffee house where he had previously been refused service (Farmer 1965: 60-62). By the late 1950s, sit-ins and other forms of "direct action" had become popular within the Civil Rights movement. By the 1960s, "direct action" was at the forefront for the struggle for African-American freedom. "Direct action" was soon followed by a resurgence of black nationalism, which some scholars think is correlated with American participation in foreign wars such as the Vietnam War (Henderson 2000).

The turn towards direct action coincided with black intellectuals' disenchantment with American colleges and universities (Carr 1998). Ever since Carter Woodson (1933) wrote that American colleges failed to serve African-Americans, black intellectuals urged that educational institutions dedicate themselves to developing and transmitting knowledge about the African-American community. In the early 20th century, black intellectuals made significant moves in this direction. W.E.B. DuBois' research center at Atlanta University, founded in1910, is an example of a research institution dedicated to the African-American community. Carter Woodson founded the Association for Negro History in 1927, another example of an intellectual organization dedicated to the study of the African-American community.

"Direct action" and the desire for autonomous African-American intellectual institutions converged when black students mobilized for departments of African-American Studies. Bobby Seale and Huey Newton founded the Soul Brothers Association (predecessor of the Black Panthers founded in 1966) and demanded "Afro-American history" courses at Oakland's Lane College (Seale 1991 [1970]). In 1968, black students allied with the Black Panthers organized a strike at San Francisco State College that resulted in the creation of the first Department of African-American Studies (Karenga 1982: 21-24; Orrick 1970; Rojas 2007). The San Francisco State College strike was successful because the students had already created a functioning African-American Studies curriculum as part of an experimental college and students were well versed in the Civil Rights movement's tactics. Soon afterwards, black students at other campuses successfully mobilized for African-American Studies, and activists and students developed proposals for departments, programs, courses and even all-black colleges within predominantly white universities (Van Deburg 1992).

African-American Studies programs are one of the black student movement's most visible and enduring achievements. Approximately 120 universities have instructional units offering African-American Studies degrees. Another 100 campuses offer minor degrees and non-degree certifications. African-American Studies programs fulfill multiple roles in universities as "institutionalized expressions of racial difference" (Drake 1979) and support networks for students and faculty (Aldridge and Young 2000; Hine 1990; Stewart 2000). The movement for African-American Studies also resulted in more courses, programs and new curricula (Aldridge 2000). Some programs, such as Temple University's Department, have become centers of afrocentricity, which is "a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate." (Asante 2003: 2) African-American Studies is often seen as treating "the Black or African-American experience as an integral part of the broader society." (Anderson 1990: 2)

This approach to African-American Studies reflects a belief that there should be black conscious institutions, a view held by many in the African-American community today. For example, Dawson (2001: 330) finds that 62.2 percent of adult African-Americans would support "black male academies." McCormick and Franklin (2000: 327) find that a majority of Million Man March participants think that resources should be pooled in black-owned banks and businesses (327).

African-American Studies programs are the legacy of a moment when "direct action" defined black politics, before the current turn to electoral politics (Tate 1993). The growth of African-American Studies programs provides evidence about the effects of student mobilization, the institutionalization of racial consciousness and the development of a politically aware academic discipline.

Data and Model Estimation

I test the hypotheses with longitudinal data on university size, endowment, ethnic enrollments, awarded degrees, campus unrest and founding dates of degree-granting

African-American Studies programs. The cases in the data set are universities. Data were collected for all American institutions of higher education that offer four-year degrees from 1968 to 1998. There were 1,423 colleges and universities that provided enough data for analysis.

Dependent Variable

I determined the founding dates of African-American Studies program in the following manner. First, I created a list of African-American Studies programs by reading all editions of *The Index of College Majors* (College Board 1977-1998). I collected founding dates of programs from historical accounts of African-American Studies programs (such as Downs 1999; Huggins 1985; Myles 1970; Orrick 1970), reference books (*Mitchell's Multicultural Guide to Education*, Mitchell 1996), online college catalogs, and departmental websites and brochures. If a program's founding date was not available in these public sources, I contacted the current chair by telephone or e-mail. I was able to acquire the founding dates of all degree-granting programs except one.

Independent Variable

Campus unrest data were collected from the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Both newspapers had good coverage of the Northeast, the Midwest and the West, while the *New York Times* had good coverage of the South. Every report of black student campus unrest was coded for the date (day, month and year), the kind of event (sit-in, march/demonstration, riot, interpersonal violence, etc.), and the college where the event occurred. I used multiple search methods to identify relevant articles and search engines to identify articles about campus unrest that involved black students. I used multiple combinations of key words such as "black students" and "African-American students" and various key words such as "riots," "sit-ins" and "marches." I also scanned through these two newspapers on microfilm and then verified the results of the search by consulting yearly indexes such as the *Reader's Guide*.

I define disruptive black student campus protest events to be any instance of protest carried out by black students that is an attempt to prevent the university from performing its instructional, research or administrative duties. I also include in this category any attempt to directly impose monetary costs on noncompliant universities. The disruptive protest category includes sit-ins/building occupations, violence among students, classroom disruptions, heckling, work stoppages/strikes and property damage. Non-disruptive forms of black student protest are any form of protest carried out by black students that does not interfere with the university's daily activities. This second category includes rallies, "happenings," protest theatre, hunger strikes and nonviolent demonstrations. Teach-ins that do not coincide with building occupations are counted as non-disruptive.

Control Variables

Scholars have found that structural and institutional features of an organization predict change. In this study, I control for an organization's internal structure and resources, client demography and institutional type. The organizational literature (Aldrich and Auster 1986; Downs 1967; Merton 1957; Tsouderos 1955) predicts that organizational size correlates with

the probability of change. This study employs the number of clients – students – as a measure of organizational size. Another literature shows that organizations are more likely to adopt innovations (Hage 1999; Zammutto and O'Connor 1992) if they have a fine division of labor. That is, organizations with specialized workers are more able to assimilate change than organizations without specialized skills and knowledge. In the present study, I measure the division of labor in an organization by the number of different degrees awarded by a university. Organizational scholars also argue that unused resources facilitate change (Cohen, March and Olsen 1972; Paulsen 1990). This study uses university endowments as a measure of spare resources. Other researchers note that change is more likely when a constituency will benefit from change (Katzenstein 1999; Scully and Creed 1999). The analysis includes the proportion of students who are black because they are the constituency most likely to participate in an African-American Studies program. To control for the possibility that public universities and historically black institutions might be more amenable to black students, I include dummy variables for these two characteristics. Data about student enrollments, black enrollment and other university characteristics are obtained from surveys such as the Higher Education General Information Survey. Table 1 describes each variable and its source.

Table 1: Variables and Sources

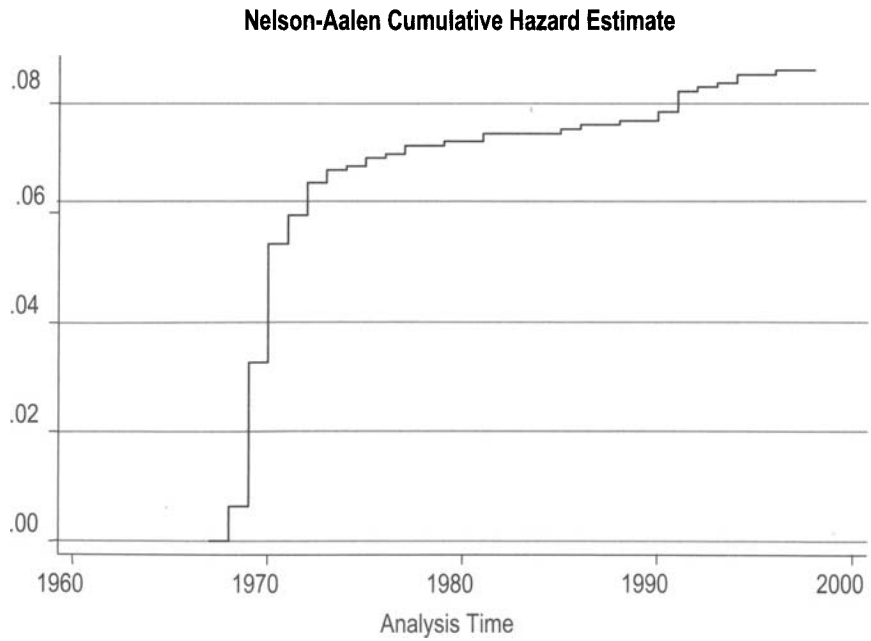
Variable	Source	Years Measured
Organizational Variables		
Total Enrollment	HEGIS/IPEDS (U.S. Department of Education)	1968-1969
Enrollment by Race	U.S. Civil Rights Survey (Department of Health, Education and Welfare)	1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976
	HEGIS/IPEDS	1976-1998
Curricular Diversity/ Degrees Awarded	HEGIS/IPEDS	1968-1998
Per Capita Endowment	HEGIS/IPEDS	1968-1998
Public	HEGIS/IPEDS	1968-1998
Historically Black College	HEGIS/IPEDS	1968-1998
Carnegie Classification	HEGIS/IPEDS	1968-1998
Campus Unrest		
Annual Black Student Protests on Campuses	*New York Times, Los Angeles Times*	1968-1998
African-American Studies Programs Creations		
Existence of a Program	Index of College Majors (College Board)	1968-1998
Founding Date	Historical accounts, reference guides, survey conducted by author	

Qualitative Data

In the discussion of my quantitative results, I use information from case studies I have done of African-American Studies programs. The data for the case studies come from university archives such as the University of Illinois at Chicago, the University of Chicago, San Francisco State University; public libraries such as the Vivian Harsh Collection at the Carter Woodson Library in Chicago and the Schaumburg Collection of the New York Public Library in Harlem; the federal government's collection of materials regarding protests at the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas; and personal collections, interviews and published university histories. Rojas (2007) describes these materials in more detail.

I tested the hypotheses by estimating a discrete time logit model, because the creation of an academic program happens on a yearly basis and is not a continuous time process. The data used in the model estimates are pooled cross sectional data. Cases are discarded the year after an African-American Studies program was created. Table 2 presents summary statistics and the variable correlation matrix. Diagram 1 presents the cumulative hazard of adopting an African-American Studies program.

Figure 1. Nelson-Aelen Cumulative Hazard Function for the Creation of African-American Studies Programs



Results

The first hypothesis is that black students who disrupt the university's activities will increase the probability that their university will establish a degree-granting African-American Studies program. Social movement research suggests that disruptive acts encourage university administrators to placate protestors. Similarly, theory suggests that non-disruptive tactics might change public opinion and therefore influence university administrators. Table 3 shows that there is a significant correlation between black student activism and the creation of a

Table 2: Means, Standard Deviations and Correlation Matrix (1,423 universities and 43,650 university years)

	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Black Studies Program	.003	.054	1.000											
2. Disruptive Protests	.001	.029	.042	1.000										
3. Non-disruptive Protests	.001	.038	.104	.088	1.000									
4. Log-enrollments	7.720	1.174	.065	.024	.026	1.000								
5. % of Black Students	.114	1.606	-.002	.003	.001	-.047	1.000							
6. Per Capita Endowments	7.698	90.806	.001	.001	.001	-.083	-.002	1.000						
7. Curricular Diversity	6.959	3.493	.069	.024	.032	.651	-.017	-.018	1.000					
8. Public University	.342	.474	.023	-.001	-.003	.590	.000	-.058	.279	1.000				
9. Research University	.062	.241	.097	.033	.049	.409	-.012	.116	.401	.198	1.000			
10.Doctoral University	.076	.265	.004	.004	.002	.316	-.004	-.015	.221	.147	-.074	1.000		
11.Masters College	.383	.486	-.020	-.011	-.012	.283	-.007	-.054	.092	.266	-.205	-.230	1.000	
12.Historically Black	.062	.240	-.005	.002	.014	-.075	.139	-.015	-.060	.063	-.066	-.049	-.016	1.000

African-American Studies program. The results of Model 1, which include control variables, show that there is a statistically significant effect for both types of protest. The logit model estimates the effects of the independent variables on the log-odds that a university will create an African-American Studies program. Therefore, the multiplicative effect of a single non-disruptive protest conducted by black students on the odds that a university creates an African-American Studies program is $e^{2.352} = 10.50$. That is, a single non-disruptive protest event multiplies the odds of organizational change by 10. The effect of disruptive protests is also large, $\beta = 2.278$ ($e^{2.278} = 9.76$). A single disruptive protest event multiplies the odds ninefold.

Both protest effects decrease when other variables are included in the analysis. In Model 4, the inclusion of control variables decreases the non-disruptive protest effect to 1.398 – a decrease of 40 percent. The effect of disruptive protests decreases from 2.278 to .815 – a decrease of 64 percent. This is not surprising, given that researchers have found that features of the university such as size and research status predict campus unrest (Soule 1997; Scott and El-Assal 1969). Therefore, the inclusion of control variables should decrease the protest effects.

There is an important difference between disruptive and non-disruptive events. In models 3 and 4, which include student demographic data, enrollment data and institutional descriptor variables such as "historically black college," disruptive protest has no significant effect, but non-disruptive protest is significant at the $\alpha = .01$ level. The difference between disruptive and non-disruptive protest suggests that not all protests are the same. Disruptive protests have no impact on structural change once the features of the student body and university are included in the analysis.

Neo-institutional theory suggested that the number of universities in a year that create an African-American Studies program will have a positive effect on the probability that other universities will create their own program. Table 3 provides evidence that there is a mimicry effect, but the effect only occurs within peer groups. That is, an African-American Studies program is likely to be created in a university when other similar schools create programs. Conversations with African-American Studies instructors corroborate this finding. In recent interviews with professors at research universities, I was told about the "Harvard effect," the tendency of university administrators to support African-American Studies after Harvard University invested money in its Department of African-American Studies.

The mimicry effect is notable but small when compared to the estimated protest effect. In Model 4, a single incidence of non-disruptive protest multiplies program creation odds by 4.075. That is, a single rally or demonstration quadruples the odds of an African-American Studies program creation. In contrast, a single program creation in a university's Carnegie category multiplies the odds by $e^{.181} = 1.198$, or about 20 percent.

I also suggest that the effect of any kind of protest might increase when other universities create African-American Studies programs. Therefore, one would expect interactions between protests and the number of other universities that have created programs to have significant effects on future African-American Studies program creation. Table 4 presents interaction effects. Model 5 includes protest, mimetic variables and their interactions. Model 6 includes protest, structural variables and their interactions. The parameter estimates are revealing. The protest-mimicry interactions (Model 5) are not significant. That is, universities are no more responsive to their peers when there is campus protest. In Model 6, the only variables that are significant are log-enrollments, curricular diversity, and the interaction between protest and curricular diversity. The interaction effect is negative. According to Model 6, the universities most likely to adopt African-American Studies programs are large and structurally differentiated. The coincidence of protest with curricular diversity decreases program creation in Model 6, which suggest that perhaps the largest schools respond negatively to protests. It is possible that administrators at schools with an extremely large number of academic programs might try to institute African-American Studies within existing programs as a quick response to protests. Future research can address this conjecture.

Table 3: Discrete Time Logistic Model of African-American Studies Program Creation Year T-1

Variable	1	2	3	4
Non-disruptive Protests	2.352***	1.582**	1.520**	1.398**
	(.500)	(.523)	(.516)	(.523)
Disruptive Protests	2.278***	1.359*	.900	.815
	(.469)	(.530)	(.563)	(.553)
All Program Creations		.014	.021	.023
		(.017)	(.018)	(.018)
Program Creations in Carnegie Group		.248***	.175***	.180***
		(.020)	(.023)	(.027)
Program Creations in Region		.043	.045	.037
		(.056)	(.060)	(.061)
Log-enrollments			.854***	1.045***
			(.186)	(.217)
% of Black Students			.339	-.019
			(.181)	(1.430)
Per Capita Endowments			.001	.001
			(.001)	(.001)
Curricular Diversity			.124*	.132*
			(.059)	(.065)
Public University				-.492
				(.277)
Research University				-.210
				(.423)
Masters College				.006
				(.392)
Historically Black College				1.299
				(1.172)
Constant	-5.834***	-6.519***	-15.225***	-16.708***
	(.094)	(.174)	(1.454)	(1.875)
Log-likelihood	-777.704	-447.441	-408.866	-406.061
Degrees of Freedom	2	5	9	13
X^2	44.50	278.07	352.20	357.81
R^2	.027	.237	.301	.305

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 4: Estimates of Protest Interaction Effects

Variable	5	6
# of Non-Disruptive Protests	2.749***	1.504
	(.829)	(4.921)
# of Disruptive Protests	2.328**	.410
	(.878)	(5.313)
All Program Creations, Year T-1	.012	
	(.017)	
Program Creations in Carnegie Category, Year T-1	.012***	
	(.017)	
Program Creations in Region, Year T-1	.056	
	(.057)	
All Program Creations x	.030	
All Protests	(.135)	
Program Creations in Carnegie Category x	-.042	
All Protests	(.087)	
Program Creations in Region x	-.498	
All Protests	(.588)	
Log-enrollments		.356**
		(.134)
% of Black Students		-.036
		(.644)
Per Capita Endowments		.001
		(.001)
Curricular Diversity		.345***
		(.053)
Log-enrollments x All Protest		.813
		(.594)
% Black x Protest		-4.396
		(11.627)
Endowments x Protest		.033
		(.022)
Curricular Diversity x Protest		-.606***
		(.193)
Constant	-6.559***	-12.022***
	.174	.891
Log-likelihood	-454.034	-666.292
Degrees of Freedom	8	10
X^2	282.630	249.080
R^2	.237	.158

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

The structural features of universities have mixed effects. Some, like log-enrollments, have predictable positive effects. In Model 4, the multiplicative effect of log-enrollments on the odds of program creation is 1.046. The odds of program creation are nearly tripled ($e^{1.046} = 2.86$) when log-enrollments increase by one. Similarly, curricular diversity has positive effects on program creation. For each additional program of study, the odds of program creation are multiplied by $e^{.134} = 1.143$. A university with fifteen distinct courses of study in the humanities and social sciences multiplies the odds by $e^{\beta * x} = e^{15 * .134} = 7.463$. Larger, intellectually diverse institutions are the ones most likely to create new, interdisciplinary academic programs. Interestingly, after control variables are included, university endowments are not a significant predictor of African-American Studies program creation.

Institutional control variables, such as public ownership, do not have significant effects on African-American Studies program creation. This is expected because the structural variables describe different institutional types. For example, public universities tend to offer more courses of study and enroll more students. Similarly, historically black colleges, by definition, tend to have mostly black student populations.

Surprisingly, the proportion of students who are black does not have a significant effect on African-American Studies program creation. I found this to be the case in Model 3, which does not control for the type of institution. Black enrollment does not have a significant effect when the historically black college variable is omitted from the analysis.

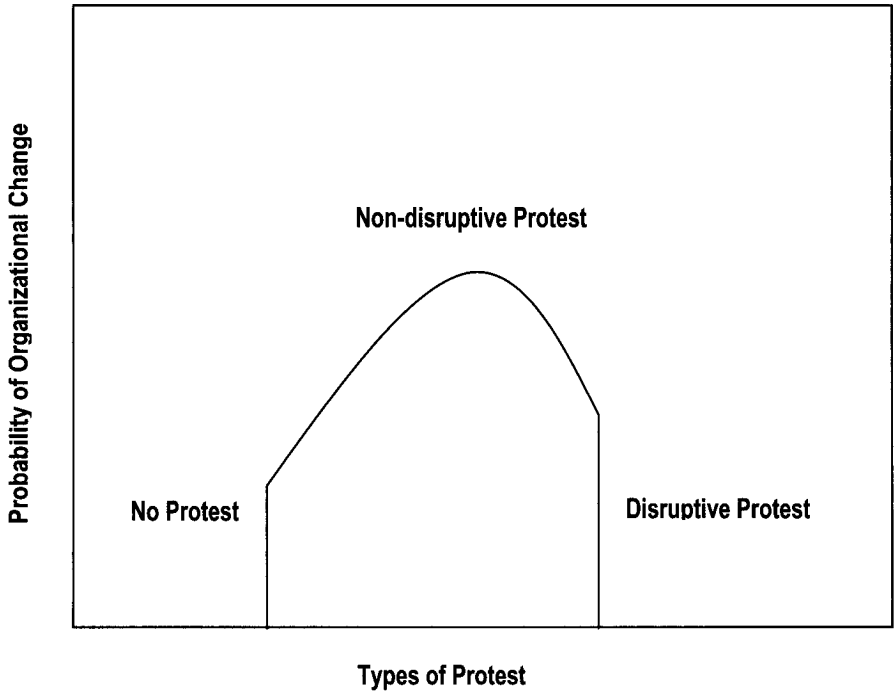
The model estimates support the following statements about the limited diffusion of African-American Studies programs. (1) Protest has a positive effect on program creation. (2) Only non-disruptive protest has a significant effect when control variables are included in the analysis. (3) There are very specific mimicry effects. Universities do not follow national trends; they belong to peer groups, as defined by the Carnegie classification. In the analyses, the creation of an African-American Studies program only increases the likelihood that other universities create a program when both universities belong to the same Carnegie group. This is consistent with the prior research on diffusion processes that I cited above. Mimicry was limited; only 120 of the approximately 1,400 institutions in the analysis offered African-American Studies. The mimicry effects are consistent with Soule's (1997) research showing that protest tactics diffused within similar schools. (4) Two structural features of universities stand out as significant predictors of change: size and internal differentiation as measured by the number of majors offered by the university. (5) The ethnic composition of the student body is not a statistically significant predictor of African-American Studies program creation. (6) There is no support for the hypothesis that protest has interactions with any of the other variables in the analysis, except for curricular diversity. (7) The model that captures the most variance includes protest, mimicry variables and control variables. (8) Protest effects are larger than mimicry effects and most control variable effects in the estimated models.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through analyses of data from American institutions of higher education, I found that only non-disruptive protest encourages the creation of African-American Studies programs. Diagram 2 illustrates the relationship between protest and organizational change found in the data on African-American Studies programs. I also found that the number of African-American Studies programs created within a Carnegie category has an effect on the creation of other African-American Studies programs. The empirical analysis depicts the spread of African-American Studies as a limited diffusion process driven by protest, made possible by a university's size and internal complexity, and propagated by mimetic diffusion within organizational peer groups.

While much has been learned from prior research on social movements and organizations, the effect of protest, mimicry and the internal structure of organizations have rarely been

Figure 2. Effect of Protest Tactics on Organizational Change



simultaneously assessed. For example, Tolbert and Zucker's (1983) study of municipal reform did not include measurements of protest activities, although they did estimate the effects of organizational size. Davis and Thompson's (1994:158-165) examination of shareholder politics did not discuss specific movement tactics. Lounsbury's (2001) study of recycling programs among universities did not include measures of protest. This study expands on prior research by estimating the effects of measured political activity, organizational structure and mimicry.

The findings of this study suggest that controversial organizational change is driven primarily by protest, although other factors are important, and that the protest tactics examined in this study are not sufficient to initiate widespread adoption of a movement's demands. Despite all the efforts on behalf of African-American Studies, programs exist today in only 9 percent of institutions of higher education that award at least a bachelor's degree. Most programs were founded in the years 1968-1973, with only a handful of programs created in other years. The protest effect is larger than the mimicry effect, which strongly suggests that African-American Studies never became a "taken-for-granted" feature of the American universities. If this did happen, protests would have been followed by the wide scale adoption of African-American Studies, as universities strived to be legitimate by copying their peers. It is likely that an interdisciplinary field focused on an American minority was inconsistent with the political culture that legitimizes the university. Unlike the Civil Rights movement in general, the African-American Studies movement failed to change the discourse within higher education so that "illegitimate" academic practices could be fully institutionalized.

The findings raise important questions about how bureaucracies respond to protest. First, why does disruptive protest not have significant effects when structural variables and

institutional-type variables are included in the logistic regression model? Social movement theories suggest that both disruptive and passive protest should be effective, although for different reasons. The results presented in Table 3 point to a subtler story, in which some kinds of protest matter and others do not.

It is possible that any activity depriving sympathetic bureaucratic insiders of their ability to advocate on behalf of a social movement inhibits organizational change. In her study of curricular reform movements, Amy Binder (2000, 2002) argues that bureaucratic insiders – not elected officials – are in the best position to enact reforms and structural change in organizations. Not only do insiders have knowledge of the daily workings of a bureaucracy, they have a good understanding of an organization's culture and wider political context. Insiders know which arguments will work and which will be rejected by power holders.

In a separate analysis of black student protest and administrative response at various California State Colleges (Rojas 2007), I found that disruptive protests were often followed by state intervention, which created turmoil among college administrators (Orrick 1970). The State Board of Trustees would fire administrators they felt were not doing enough to maintain order. At least three times in the late 1960s, the California legislature passed statutes that redefined the power and responsibilities of college presidents. During the Third World Strike in 1968-1969, the San Francisco State College Board of Trustees interfered with the daily workings of the university. Trustees, legislative leaders and Governor Ronald Reagan thought that college administrators were not enforcing disciplinary standards on campus or that students presented a credible threat to shut down the campus that had to be countered.

State intervention reduced the discretion of sympathetic administrators. Disruptive student protest forced administrators to worry about disciplinary policies, police actions and political intervention rather than curricular reform. In my examination of internal reports from the California State College system in the late 1960s, I found multiple discussions of disciplinary procedures and the administration's attempts to negotiate with the state legislature and Governor Reagan, but few discussions of curricular reform. This obsession with discipline and public image was justified. At San Francisco State College in the 1967-1968 academic year alone, two college presidents were fired by the board of trustees because they were thought to be incapable of imposing order on their campuses.

Protest undermines the ability of administrators to project an image of authority, and it is authority which gives administrators opportunities to convert initially illegitimate movement demands into legitimate organizational routines (Elsbach and Sutton 1992). Administrators in public universities must obtain the support of political actors who are interested in projecting a "law and order" image. Similarly, private school administrators want to reassure donors and other constituents that they are in control of the campus.

The empirical analysis raises a second question: why isn't there a statistically significant effect for black student enrollment? My hypothesis is that protest in favor of Black Studies and related issues is strongly correlated with the presence of well organized student groups. On the campuses I studied, black student protests were organized by former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activists and Black Panthers. "Black Student Unions" were created. Students would hold "rap sessions" at student union meetings where they would discuss grievances and develop ideas for university reforms. Older students with experience in the Civil Rights movement would teach younger students effective protest tactics. Without the formal structure of the Black Student Union, it would have been less likely for black students to develop the sense of solidarity needed for collective action. There would not have been a forum in which movement strategies could be discussed, planned, practiced and developed.

Therefore, it is not the sheer numbers of the potential constituency of the African-American Studies program but the extent to which a mobilized constituency demands this change. This theory explains the lack of an effect of the black student population on African-American Studies

program creation. The theory also explains the wide variety of campuses where African-American Studies were implemented. For example, some schools, such as Cornell University (Downs 1999) and San Francisco State College (Orrick 1970), had relatively small black student populations, sometimes less than 10 percent. Other colleges, such as the historically black Howard University (Myles 1970), also experienced protests for African-American Studies. Schools with black student protest and successful African-American Studies programs have in common black student unions, SNCC chapters and other campus organizations.

The presence of black student unions and former civil rights activists on campuses with departments of African-American Studies suggests that political constituencies within organizations may matter most when they are integrated into a broader protest movement. Movement activists with political experience know how to effectively reframe the organization's activities and create new understandings of what the organization should do. Formal organization brings together interested individuals and makes communication and coordination possible. Therefore, it is not the constituency that matters, but whether the constituency is organized and mobilized.

This study shows that protest is the crucial factor behind the creation of African-American Studies programs. It also demonstrates that the type of protest matters: only non-disruptive protest has an effect. Also, protest is not needed everywhere because mimicry occurs. This study showed that the spread of African-American Studies programs involves both political and mimetic processes. Future research can address new questions raised by this study. Replications of this study can determine if the differing protest effects exist in other situations. It is possible that the dynamics of the African-American Studies movement are unique. Examinations of other academic reform movements might find that there is little difference between tactics. Other research should investigate the interactions between demonstrators and administrators as the later try to retain their authority. This study suggests that movement scholars interested in outcomes should pay attention not only to mobilization processes and movement strategies, but also to the effects of movement tactics on the cultural and political underpinnings of a targeted organization.

References

Aldrich, Howard E., and Ellen Auster. 1986. "Even Dwarfs Started Small: Liabilities of Age and Size and Their Strategic Implications." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 8:165-98.

Aldridge, Delores. 2000. "The Status of Africana/Black Studies in Higher Education in the U.S." *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies*. Delores P. Aldridge and Carlene Young, editors. Lexington Books.

Aldridge, Delores P., and Carlene Young, editors. 2000. "Historical Development and Introduction to the Academy." *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies*. Lexington Books.

Anderson, Talmadge. 1990 "Black Studies: Overview and Theoretical Perspectives." *Black Studies: Theory, Method and Cultural Perspectives*. Talmadge Anderson, editor. Washington State University Press.

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971." *American Sociological Review* 66(1):71-95.

Armstrong, Elizabeth A. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. University of Chicago Press.

Asante, Molefi. 2003. *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*. African-American Images.

Bailey, Ronald. 2001. "Black Studies in Historical Perspective." Pp. 229-39. *The African-American Studies Reader*. Nathaniel Norment, Jr., editor. Carolina Academic Press.

Binder, Amy. 2000. "Why Do Some Curricula Challenges 'Work' While Others Do Not? The Case of Three Afrocentric Challenges in Atlanta, Washington, D.C. and New York State." *Sociology of Education* 73:69-91.

_____. 2002. *Contentious Curricula: Afrocentrism and Creationism in American Public Schools*. Princeton University Press.

Bunzel, John H. 1968. "Black Studies at San Francisco State." *The Public Interest* 13: 22-38.

Carr, Greg Kimathi. 1998. *African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era: Its Antecedents and Methodological Implications for the African Contribution to World History*. Doctoral dissertation. Department of Afro-American Studies, Temple University.

College Board. 1977-2002. *The Index of College Majors*. New York: The College Board.

Cohen, Michael D., J.G. March and J.P. Olsen. 1972. "The Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17:1-25.

Congress for Racial Equality. 1971 [1942]. CORE Statement of Purpose. *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. August Meier, Elliott Rudwick and Francis L. Broderick, editors. MacMillan.

Cress, Daniel M., and David A. Snow. 2000. "The Outcome of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal of Sociology* 105:1063-1104.

Crouchett, Lawrence. 1971. "Early Black Studies Movements." *The Journal of Black Studies*. 2(2):198-99.

Davis, Gerald, and Tracy Thompson. 1994. "A Social Movement Perspective on Corporate Control." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39:141-73.

Davis, Gerald, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott and Meyer Zald. 2004. *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. Cambridge University Press.

Dawson, Michael. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. University of Chicago Press.

Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 1999. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Blackwell Publishers.

DiMaggio, Paul, and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 52:147-60.

Downs, Anthony. 1967. *Inside Bureaucracy*. Little, Brown.

Downs, Donald Alexander. 1999. *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University*. Cornell University Press.

Drake, St. Clair. 1979. "What Happened to Black Studies?" *New York University Education Quarterly*. X(3):9-17.

Durman, Eugene. 1973. "Have the Poor Been Regulated: Toward a Multivariate Understanding of Welfare Growth." *Social Service Review* 47:339-59.

Elsbach, Kimberly, and Robert I. Sutton. 1992. "Acquiring Organizational Change Through Illegitimate Actions: A Marriage of Institutional and Impression Management Theory." *Academy of Management Journal* 35:699-738.

Farmer, James, 1965. *Freedom – When?* Random House.

Fording, Richard C. 1997. "The Conditional Effect of Violence as a Political Tactic: Mass Insurgency, Electoral Context and Welfare Generosity in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 41:1-29.

_____. 2001. "The Political Response to Black Insurgency: A Critical Test of Competing Theories of State." *American Political Science Review* 95:115-30.

Frey, R. Scott, Thomas Dietz and Linda Kalof. 1992. "Characteristics of Successful American Protest Groups: Another Look at Gamson's *Strategy of Social Protest*." *American Journal of Sociology* 98:368-87.

Gamson, William A. 1990 [1975]. *Strategy of Social Protest*. Second edition. Dorsey Press.

Giugni, Marco. 1999. "How Social Movements Matter: Past Research, Present Problems, Future Developments." *How Social Movements Matter*. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly, editors. University of Minnesota Press.

Glasker, Wayne C. 2002. *Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967-1990*. University of Massachusetts Press.

Goldstone, Jack. 1980. "The Weakness of Organization." *American Journal of Sociology* 85:1017–1042.

Hage, J.T. 1999. "Organizational Innovation and Organizational Change." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:597-622.

Haveman, Heather. 1993. "Follow the Leader: Mimetic Isomorphism and Entry into New Markets." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 38:593-627.

Hedstrom, Peter. 1994. "Contagious Collectivities: On the Spatial Diffusion of Swedish Trade Unions, 1890-1940." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:1157-79.

Henderson, Errol A. 2000. "War, Political Cycles, and the Pendulum Thesis." *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*. Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, editors. New York University Press.

Hine, Darlene Clark. 1990. "African-American Studies: An Overview." *Three Essays – African-American Studies in the United States*. Robert L. Harris, Jr., Darlene Clark Hine and Nellie McKay, editors. The Ford Foundation.

Huggins, Nathan Irving. 1985. *Afro-American Studies: a Report to the Ford Foundation*. The Ford Foundation.

Isaac, Larry, and William R. Kelley. 1981. "Racial Insurgency, the State, and Welfare Expansion: Local and National Evidence from the Postwar United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 86:1348-86.

Karenga, Maulana. 1982. *Introduction to Black Studies*. Kawaida Publications.

Katzenstein, Mary. 1999. Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest Inside the Church and Military. Princeton University Press.

Knoke, David.1982. "The Spread of Municipal Reform: Temporal, Spatial and Social Dynamics." *American Journal of Sociology* 87:1314-39.

Lounsbury, Michael. 2001. "Institutional Sources of Pattern Variation: Staffing College and University Recycling Programs." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 46:29-56.

Lounsbury, Michael, Marc Ventresca and Paul Hirsch. 2003. "Social Movements, Field Frames and Industry Emergence: A Cultural-Political Perspective on US Recycling." *Socio-Economic Review* 1:71-104.

McAdam, Doug, and Yang Su. 2002. "The War at Home: The Impact of Anti-War Protests, 1965-1973," *American Sociological Review* 67:696-721.

McCormick, Joseph, and Sekou Franklin. 2000. "Expressions of Racial Consciousness in the African-American Community: Data from the Million Man March. *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*. Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, editors. New York University Press.

Meier, August, Elliott Rudwick and Francis L. Broderick. 1971. *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. MacMillan.

Merton, Robert K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Free Press.

Meyer, John W., and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology 83:340-63.*

Mirowski, John, and Catherine E. Ross. 1981. "Protest Group Success: The Impact of Group Characteristics, Social Control, and Context." *Sociological Focus* 14:177-92.

Mitchell, Robert. 1996. *The Multicultural Student's Guide to Colleges: What Every African American, Asian-American, Hispanic, and Native American Applicant Needs to Know about America's Top Schools.* Noonday Press.

Myers, D.J. 1997. "Racial Riots in the 1960s: An Event History Analysis of Local Conditions." *American Sociological Review* 62:94-112.

Myles, Tom. 1970. *Centennial + 1: An Account of Student Unrest at Howard University*. Black Light Graphics.

Orrick, William H. 1970. *College in Crisis, A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence*. Aurora Publishers.

Paulsen, Michael. 1990. "Curriculum Change at Liberal Arts Colleges. The Influence of Financial Conditions." *Liberal Education* 76:2-5.

Piven, Francis Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements*. Vintage.

_____. 1983. *The New Class War*. Pantheon.

_____. 1992. "Normalizing Collective Protest." Pp. 301-25. *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*. Aldon D. Morris and Carol M. Mueller, editors. Yale University Press.

Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method*. University of California Press.

Rojas, Fabio. 2007. *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Schumaker, W. Richard. 1975. "Policy Responsiveness to Protest-group Demands." *Journal of Politics* 37:488-521.

_____. 1978. "The Scope of Political Conflict and the Effectiveness of Constraints in Contemporary Urban Protest." *Sociological Quarterly* 19:168-84.

Scott, Joseph W., and Mohamed El-Assal. 1969. "Multiversity, University Size, University Quality and Student Protest: An Empirical Study." *American Sociological Review* 34:702-709.

Scott, W. Richard. 2000. *Institutions and Organizations*. Sage Publications.

Scully, Maureen, and D.W.E. Creed. 1999. "Restructured Families: Issues of Quality and Need." *The Annals of the American Academy of Science* 562:45-62.

Seale, Bobby. 1991 [1970]. *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Heuy P. Newton*. Black Classic Press.

Soule, Sarah A. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest." *Social Forces* 75:855-83.

Stedley, Homer R., and John W. Foley. 1979. "The Success of Protest Groups: Multi-Variate Analysis." *Social Science Research* 8:1-15.

Stewart, James B. 2000. "The Field and Function of Black Studies: Toward an Accurate Assessment of the State of Black Studies in the 1970s and 1980s." *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies*. Delores P. Alridge and Carlene Young, editors. Lexington Books.

Stinchcombe, Arthur. 1965. "Social Structure and Organizations." Pp. 142-93. *The Handbook of Organizations*. James G. March, editor. Rand McNally.

Strang, David, and Sarah A. Soule. 1998. "Diffusion in Organizations and Social Movements: From Hybrid Corn to Poison Pills." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:265-290.

Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics*. Harvard University Press.

Tolbert, Pamela S., and Lynn G. Zucker. 1983. "Institutional Sources of Change in the Formal Structure of Organizations: The Diffusion of Civil Service Reform, 1880-1935." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28:22-39.

Tsouderos, John E. 1955. "Organizational Change Terms of a Series of Selected Variables." *American Sociological Review* 20:206-10.

United States Department of Education. 1967-1984. H*igher Education General Information Survey Series*. Machine-readable file. National Center for Education Statistics.

United States Department of Education. 1984–1998. *Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System*. Machine-readable file. National Center for Education Statistics.

United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1968-1974. *Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data for Institutions of Higher Education*. Washington: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights.

Van Deburg, William. 1992. *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975*. University of Chicago Press.

Welch, Susan.1975. "The Impact of Urban Riots on Urban Expenditures." *American Journal of Political Science* 19:741-60.

Woodson, Carter. 1998 [1933]. *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Africa World Press.

Zammuto, R., and E. O'Connor. 1992. "Gaining Advanced Manufacturing Technology Benefits: The Role of Organizational Design and Culture." *Academy of Management Review* 7:701-28.